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BOOK REVIEWS

The Relations of United States and Spain: Diplomacy. By FRENCH ENSOR CHADWICK, Rear-Admiral U. S. Navy. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1909. Pp. 610.)

The war of 1898 between the United States and Spain has already given rise to a large literature, But much of this literature, especially that produced in America, is so superficial or so partisan, that it can have little permanent value. Happily the latest contribution to this subject is remarkably free from any evidence of superficiality or of blind partisanship.

Admiral Chadwick, a trained historical scholar, (and the author of *Causes of the Civil War*, [vol. 19 of the American Nation Series]) began his study of the conflict of 1898 with the intention of treating the causes of the war, merely as a preliminary chapter to a treatise on the war itself. However, he discovered that "these causes were of such long growth and of such intricate character that it was vain to hope to bring them into short compass. The attempt at compression was abandoned, and the book is thus an effort to bring before the reader the story of more than a hundred years of what has really been a racial strife. . . . The war was thus but a final episode in a century of diplomatic ill-feeling; sometimes dormant, but more often dangerously acute" (p. 3). This fundamental conclusion as to the causes of the Spanish-American War, may be seriously questioned. Though the author shows clearly how the century of Spanish diplomacy was filled with bitterness and ill feeling, he fails to point out just how these previous estrangements made war inevitable in 1898. It seems rather as though in his search for fundamental causes, Admiral Chadwick has been lead to over-emphasize the influence of the early international differences, and especially the influence of racial antipathy. Nevertheless the author has succeeded in presenting the first scientific and comparatively exhaustive treatment of the diplomatic relations of the United States and Spain. He describes clearly and fairly these relations, beginning in 1762 and ending with the outbreak of war on April 21, 1898, Often his unusually adequate discussions of diplomatic affairs, throw new light upon many important phases of our political history.

In his opening chapter, the author discusses Spain's attitude during the American Revolution, in a way which explains many new phases of our relations with that power. He follows this by an account of the treaty of 1795, which was the result of the intrigues in the southwest. A careful résumé of Spain's part in the cession of Louisiana, and the early problems involved in the Florida question, closes the fourth chapter. Following this, the author treats the diplomacy of the years 1805-1808, during which time the United States wavering between war and peace, abandons the possibility of an alliance with England, in order to intrigue with France. Speaking of this and of Jefferson's failure to realize the need of a navy, Admiral Chadwick says: "The result to America was humiliation which should have entered as iron into the souls of her rulers" (p. 89). Napoleon's invasion of Spain and its effects in America, Jackson's invasion of the American occupancy of Florida, Adam's vindication of Jackson, the Spanish land grants, and the final ratification of the Florida treaty, February 22, 1821, bring the author to the close of his seventh chapter. The eighth is a brief but interesting account of the recognition by the United States of the independence of the South American States.

This leads naturally to an admirable history of the Holy Alliance, its activities in Europe and its plans for America, and of Canning's firm attitude and his influence on American and European policies. The discussion of these questions, and that immediately following on the Monroe doctrine, constitute one of the clearest, most accurate and most scientific accounts, to be found in English, of the rise and early development of this doctrine. The following chapter, dealing with the Panama congress and Polk's offer of purchase, shows clearly how American slavery had become "the bulwark of what remained of Spanish dominion in the Americas" (p. 215). The intolerant conditions in Cuba, so largely a result of anarchic conditions in Spain itself, and the American filibustering expedition of the early fifties, are then described. On account of the French and British offer to unite with the United States in an agreement disclaiming "all intention to obtain possession of the island of Cuba. . . ." (p. 241) and a transcript of secretary Everett's able reply, bring the author to the close of his twelfth chapter. The notable Black Warrior affair and the notorious Ostend Manifesto are then ably treated, showing that Soulé was doubtless the real author of that brutal doctrine which was immediately and unreservedly repudiated by Secretary Marcy.

Chapters fourteen to nineteen, inclusive, deal with the bloody insur-

rection in Cuba, known as the Ten Years' War (1868-1878). The early diplomacy of the war, Grant's efforts at mediation, the anarchic conditions in Spain, Grant's sympathy for the Cubans, which almost betrayed him into a premature recognition of their belligerency, the statesman-like attitude of Secretary Fish, the lamentable Virginian affair, the final settlement of that striking proof of Spanish governmental incapacity, and many other phases of the diplomacy previous to 1875 are ably discussed. Secretary Fish's notable declaration of November 5, 1875, its reception in Europe, the final settlement of the insurrection, the period of peace in the island (1878-1895) and finally the causes and outbreak of the insurrection which ultimately involved the United States are then carefully described.

Thus two-thirds of Admiral Chadwick's book gives an admirable and scholarly history of Spanish-American diplomacy prior to 1895. His narrative is nowhere a mere mosaic of quotations from secondary writers. His conclusions are always based upon the best available sources, both American and European. His references are proof of thorough and painstaking research, while the extremely copious, but carefully selected quotations and transcripts, will render his book a delight to the scholar, though they may make it less popular. It is this portion of the work dealing with the diplomacy prior to 1895 which will probably have the most permanent value; for it contains little or no trace of bias, no thesis to be proven, and no cause to be defended. The result is in every way a satisfactory diplomatic history.

The last third of the work, treating of the diplomacy subsequent to 1895, is extremely interesting and by far the best American history of the subject to date. Admiral Chadwick's method of treatment here is exactly the same as that in the earlier portion of the book. He discusses at length the general attitude of the Cleveland administration toward Spain and the Cuban question, the work of General Weyler in Cuba, American public sentiment as reflected in congress, and especially the notable case of the "Competitor," and President Cleveland threatening annual message of 1896. The presidential campaign of that year relegated the Cuban question to the background, for a time. But the new administration was soon perplexed by renewed agitation. Admiral Chadwick justly describes Mr. Cleveland as one "whose independence in judgment had shown strongly throughout his administration in stemming the tide of emotional feeling in the Cuban question. Mr. Cleveland by character and temperament stood as a leader of public opinion. Mr. McKinley as a follower. . . . The change in the

personality of the Secretary of State was no less momentous. . . . Mr. Olney, one in temperament and character with his chief, was succeeded by Senator John Sherman," who had frequently been guilty of "illogical and inconsiderate" attacks (p. 490), upon Spanish policies in Cuba, and who had now reached the age of seventy-four years, with his intellectual powers seriously impaired. In describing this appointment, it would have been plainer had the author simply said that Mr. Sherman was forced to accept the portfolio of state in order to make room for Mr. Hanna in the United States senate, instead of saying, "that the appointment was a concession to certain political adjustments in his state of a decidedly personal nature" (p. 491).

The writer then continues to describe fully the various events leading to the war, but with an apparently increasing tendency to justify the attitude of the administration at Washington. Still it would be very unfair to say that Admiral Chadwick does not present the facts impartially. Indeed he is scrupulously careful to do this in every case. It is only his conclusions which are open to question.

He acknowledges that the Cubans equally with the Spaniards were responsible for the suffering of non-combatants in the island. The results of the failure of the new liberal Spanish ministry in its conscientious attempts to make Cuba autonomous are sympathetically described. The "DeLome" Incident and the destruction of the Maine are given as the two most important causes of the war. In this connection the "yellow" press is justly scathed for its flagrant, but all too successful, attempts to bring on the conflict. In his closing chapter, the author admits that Spain (early in April) had "practically accepted the American demands in full." (p. 572.) Yet he defends President McKinley's action in practically ignoring the complete concessions of Spain and in making peace impossible by his weak surrender of his diplomatic prerogatives to a bellicose congress, on April 11, 1898. The president's course, says Admiral Chadwick, was "the best, judged by our knowledge today, for Spain, for Cuba, and for the United States (p. 576).

This conclusion may be seriously doubted. Our intervention in Cuba must be justified, if at all, on the grounds of humanity, and because of the failures of all peaceful means to secure our just demands. All peaceful means had not failed. General Woodford, our minister at Madrid, as late as April 10, 1898, telegraphed the president: "I hope that nothing will now be done to humiliate Spain. . . . With your power of action free, you will win the fight on your own lines," (p. 575) that is, make Cuba independent without war. In short, a careful reading of

the diplomatic correspondence of the years 1897-1898, shows that somehow the administration at Washington increased its demands with every new concession granted by Spain; and that in April, 1898, Spain was literally on her knees to us; yet we refused to grant her any terms, other than the most humiliating surrender.

Admiral Chadwick, however, concludes that "the war was the final act in the struggle for supremacy between Anglo-Saxons and the men of the Latin race in North America, in which Philip, Elizabeth, Drake, Howard, Chatham, Vernon, Wolf, Montcalm, Washington had, all a part. The expedition of the Great Armada; the murderous early struggles in Carolina and Florida; the Seven Years' War which drove France from the American continent, were but acts in the drama the culmination of which, in 1898, left the Anglo-Saxon and the American in Mexico masters of the whole of the northern continent. It was the end of a race struggle, which had lasted full three hundred years." (p. 587). This is a euphonious conclusion, but one which our author's own statement of the case fails to substantiate. It may, indeed, be true that the loss of Cuba to Spain was inevitable—as a result, however, of her own governmental incapacity rather than because of the "conflicts of the two races" (p. 587)—yet "the appeal. . . . to the law of force,. . . ., the arbitrament of the greater questions of life" (p. 586) apparently would have been unnecessary had the McKinley administration displayed either the courage or the sincere desire for peace, evidenced by those of both President Grant and President Cleveland, under similar circumstances.

Admiral Chadwick's style is lucid, incisive, and forcible. His characterizations are keen and definite, and are fearlessly expressed, until he enters upon the discussion of the period subsequent to 1895. One can see throughout, both in his judgment of men and of policies, the influence of his life as a seaman. In spite of his resulting war-like predilections, and his intimate connection with many of the events of the war itself, he is notably fair and open-minded—if we except his final judgment as to the justification of the American intervention in Cuba, which precipitated the conflict.

On the whole Admiral Chadwick has made a notable contribution to the study of American diplomacy. As a history of the diplomatic relations of the United States and Spain, his volume will be of the highest value. It is made especially useable, as a book of reference, by a very complete and carefully arranged index. Moreover, it will be a decided stimulus to the careful study and scholarly presentation of other phases of our diplomatic history.

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